302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 47 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was
171 originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

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Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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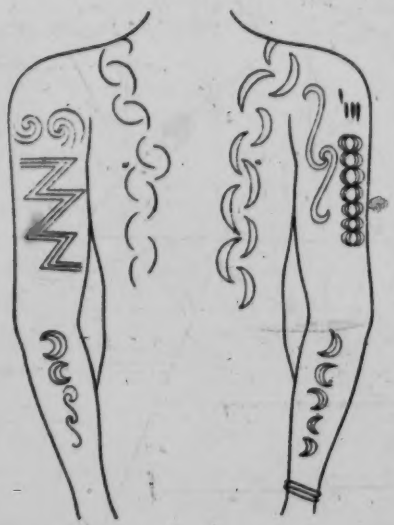

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

304 171 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha, Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] 439 177 Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south, and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
●304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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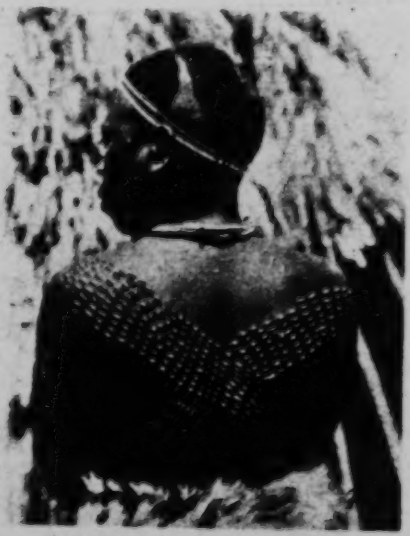

R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 437 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of [304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [826] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

●304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

302 At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

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2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu